

THE CITIZENSHIP CLEARING HOUSE

Evaluation of Citizenship Training
and Incentive in
American Colleges and Universities

1950

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OBJECTIVES

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The Citizenship Clearing House affiliated with the Law Center of New York University aims:

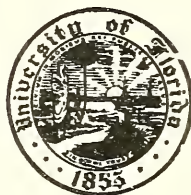
1. To aid in arousing in college students a *permanent interest* in politics and government and a willingness to participate actively in public affairs, particularly at the local level.
2. To assist in introducing young college graduates to honest, intelligent leaders of the party of their choice each in his or her home town.
3. To encourage young college graduates to organize themselves in local civic discussion groups regardless of their party affiliations, and to counsel them as to ways and means in investigating and discussing public affairs, especially at the local level.
4. To collaborate with such groups in publishing an informal periodical for information purposes and for their mutual encouragement.
5. To direct such discussion groups to the available sources of technical advice on governmental problems they may be investigating.

THE CITIZENSHIP CLEARING HOUSE

THE LAW CENTER OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON SQUARE EAST
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Evaluation of Citizenship Training
and Incentive in
American Colleges and Universities

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EVALUATION OF CITIZENSHIP TRAINING
AND INCENTIVE IN
AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

BY
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AND
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TOGETHER WITH A SYNOPSIS OF SUGGESTIONS
MADE IN SEVERAL REGIONAL CONFERENCES
ON THE SUBJECT OF CITIZENSHIP TRAINING

THE CITIZENSHIP CLEARING HOUSE

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FOREWORD

Inadequate participation of citizens in political life and ineffectiveness of political leadership are generally recognized as stumbling blocks to American progress. The schools and colleges obviously have a responsibility for seeking to correct it. The colleges and universities where teachers and leaders are educated must point the way if the problem is to be solved. It is consequently of interest to know what provision institutions of higher learning are making for training in this important field.

The Reeds' report of their study of this question should, therefore, be of some general interest and of especial value to those concerned with the college curriculum. It makes clear the meagerness of the provision now being made and cites some interesting examples of effective procedures in a few universities.

College presidents who are concerned with the contribution which their institutions can make will find the report worth reading. The case it makes for the need of acquainting students with the practical workings of the American political system is provocative. While the social sciences in general and political science in particular deal with various aspects of American institutions the Reed report suggests that practical politics receive scant attention. The result is that college graduates too frequently have neither knowledge of nor interest in our political system.

All social science teachers should find the report of interest since they should especially be concerned with citizenship training. As the Reeds suggest, they have all too often not taken full advantage of the opportunity which they have to inculcate interest in political affairs. A careful reading of "Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities" would doubtless suggest to the alert teacher of sociology or economics ways of strengthening the interest of students in the practical business of politics.

The discussion of various projects for giving students firsthand experience in the operations of government at the local, state and national levels will be especially helpful to teachers of political science. The emphasis which the report places upon the need for

understanding the working of government and interest in public affairs is timely and should find a ready response on the part of those directly concerned with teaching the elements of the American political system.

If the report is widely distributed, it should serve a very useful purpose in directing attention to the need for more effective instruction in political affairs and in creating a wider interest in the subject.

OLIVER C. CARMICHAEL
President, The Carnegie Foundation
for the Advancement of Teaching

August 26, 1949

INTRODUCTION

Late in 1948 The Citizenship Clearing House, affiliated with the Law Center of New York University, undertook, with the cooperation of the Association of American Colleges, to inquire into the extent to which college students are actually trained for and motivated toward active participation in politics and citizen activities of a nonpartisan character. A questionnaire calling for a great deal of detailed information concerning courses, instructors and extra-curricular activities was sent to all institutions which are members of the Association of American Colleges. Usable returns have been received from 218 institutions, about one-third of those addressed. The returns are so distributed geographically and by size and type of institution as to constitute an authoritative sample of all. They represent every state in the Union with the exception of Delaware, Nevada and Wyoming, and include large and small colleges, men's colleges, women's colleges, coeducational colleges, state, municipal and private colleges, colleges affiliated with religious organizations and those conducted on a non-sectarian basis, all in sufficient numbers so that the information furnished can be regarded as typical of each class of institution. Special acknowledgment must be made to the Davella Mills Foundation of Montclair, New Jersey, without whose generous support this work would not have been possible. The returns were compiled and analyzed during the first half of 1949 by Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed, well known in the field of political science but without institutional connections. The results are summarized in the following pages. They confirm some of the assumptions on which The Citizenship Clearing House was founded and point the way to future activities.

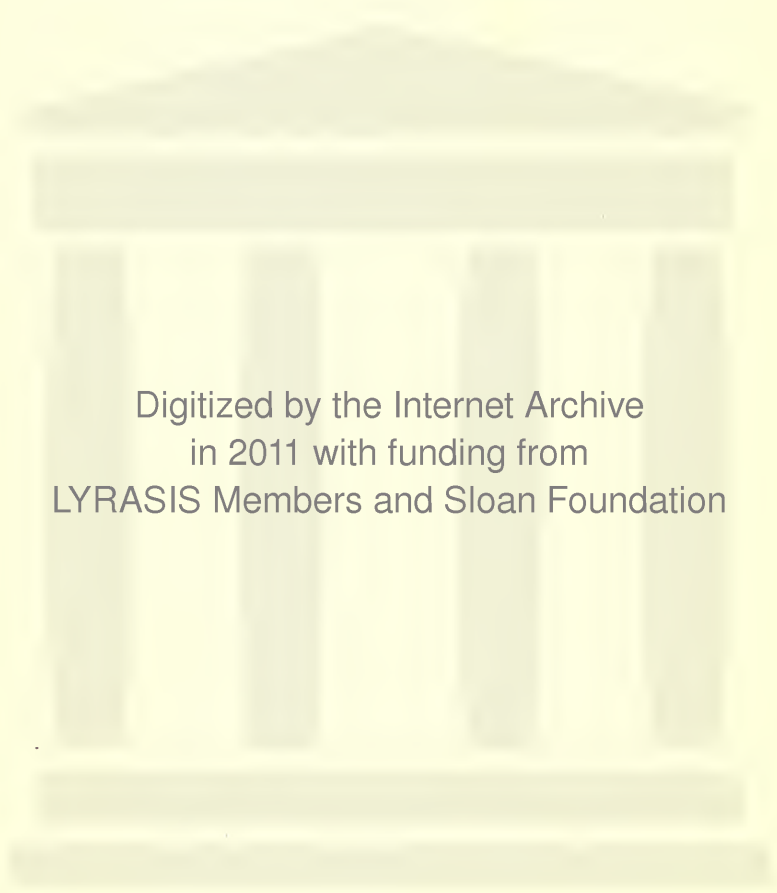
THE CITIZENSHIP CLEARING HOUSE

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GEORGE H. WILLIAMS

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EVALUATION OF CITIZENSHIP TRAINING AND INCENTIVE IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

There is much too little being done by American colleges and universities in preparing young men and women for actual participation in politics; in other words, in operating our democratic system of government. Of their failure in this respect college and university authorities are only vaguely conscious. Modern trends in college education, including the vast development in recent years of the social sciences, have not materially bettered the situation and in some respects have made it worse.

These, in broad terms, are the conclusions to be drawn from careful examination of the returns to the questionnaire entitled "Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities."

SOME UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

Before turning to the results of the questionnaire itself it is important to make perfectly clear the assumptions on which this study has been made. The most fundamental of these is that effective citizenship in a democracy must involve active participation in the operation of government. There is, of course, more to being a good citizen than the performance of one's political duties, and some college executives in their replies to the questionnaire have suggested that the scope of this inquiry is too narrow. It remains a fact, however, that all the other qualities of citizenship will not save America if the political part of the citizen's task is left undone. It is not enough that our college graduates should be civilized human beings, respectful of the rights of others—abroad as well as at home, controlled by ethical principles in the conduct of their daily lives, appreciative of beauty and truth, and capable of keeping up their ends in the economic life of the community. Even if one adds to these qualities awareness of the inestimable advantage of living in a free country it is still not enough.

There is yet the need of intelligent, active and disinterested participation in the business of making democracy a working reality. This inquiry, therefore, has been properly limited to the vital topic of preparation for participation in politics.

Even in this defined sense there is no part of a college education that does not have some relation to training for citizenship. Certainly all courses in ethics, sociology, history and economics, as well as political science, help prepare the student for future political duties. Some replies to the questionnaire attempted to list all such courses. The great majority, however, confined their replies to courses directly concerned with government and politics. As a practical matter, this study has had to be kept within this narrower field represented mostly by the offerings of departments of political science.

The questionnaire itself described as follows the elements to be looked for in each course intended as preparation for participation in politics:

“(a) A general understanding of the legal structure of our governmental system and the distribution of powers between federal, state and local governments.

“(b) A reasonable basis for critical judgment as to the merits and defects of our governmental system and its operation.

“(c) Comprehension of the nature, extent, and suggested means of solving the social, economic, administrative and military problems confronting government in the United States today, including our foreign relations.

“(d) Familiarity with the practical workings of the American political system, including parties and other means of influencing elections and the conduct of legislative bodies.”

It is on the last of these elements that the main emphasis of this study is centered. No one will deny that the actual choice of those who represent us in public office and the determination of public policy, except to some extent on the local level, is brought about through the action of political parties and pressure groups. Active participation in the political obligations of citizenship means

participation in or with some party or group. It is peculiarly important therefore that college students should receive some adequate explanation of how parties and groups function. If a citizen is to play in the "game" of politics, he must first learn the rules of the game and its more commonly used techniques. Any attempt at training for participation in politics which neglects the fourth element is fatally defective.

AN ALMOST UNIFORM PATTERN OF POLITICAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTION

The most obvious fact emerging from a study of the questionnaire returns and the catalogues accompanying them is that political science teaching in most collegiate institutions follows a very definite and uniform pattern. The tables appended to this report show the political science course offerings of six large and six small institutions. As between institutions of similar size the offerings are strikingly alike. While the number of courses offered in a great university is much larger than in a small college the difference is accounted for chiefly by the extent to which the large institutions split the more general courses offered in the smaller ones, into numerous highly specialized treatments of the same theme. The same uniformity prevails with regard to textbooks, methods of instruction and the training and experience of teachers. The use of original methods of instruction is very rare. The same texts appear over and over again in our tabulations. The abler professors gravitate to some extent to the large institutions where salaries are higher and opportunities for research more generous—a rule to which there are some very notable exceptions—but the overwhelming majority of teachers of political science in large and small institutions alike are cut off the same piece. They are either Ph.D.'s or candidates for that degree. It is a matter of common knowledge that the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in any given subject such as political science are today highly standardized. Most Ph.D.'s teaching political science come from a few universities. The returns to the questionnaire give 290 teachers in all courses, introductory and advanced, related to citizen-

ship, as having Ph.D. degrees from specified American universities. Of that number 234, or over 80%, received their degrees from 20 universities.¹ It is obvious that the continuity of the present type of instruction in the courses which have the most to do with training students for participation in politics is in the hands of the political science faculties of those 20 universities. While most large universities tend to employ in their faculties a large proportion of their own graduates there is enough cross-fertilization from other institutions to make the intellectual origins of one faculty much like those of another. It is not surprising, therefore, that the pattern of political science instruction tends to uniformity both in design and execution.

CURRICULAR PROLIFERATION

The word "proliferation" means growth by the multiplication of cells. This is exactly the manner in which college curricula in political science have expanded. Fifty years ago Harvard offered four courses in government. "Government 1" was devoted to comparative government—American, British, French, German and Italian, with fairly heavy stress on political parties. "Government 4" was international law. "Government 10" emphasized parties and colonial and municipal government. "Government 12" was an amplification of problems arising from the constitutional systems of the United States. These four courses covered the whole field of political science as we now know it except that there was a conspicuous absence of political theory. The elaborate offering of courses in six large universities, as shown in the accompanying table, represents the gradual division of the field into units which have in turn been split into more units. One of these universities has 11 times as many political science courses in its catalogue today as Harvard had in 1900, and another $8\frac{1}{2}$ times as many, not counting courses primarily for graduates. College No. 39, with 965 students and one teacher of political science, offers

¹ Chicago 33, Columbia 24, Harvard 24, Wisconsin 19, Iowa 17, California 15, Illinois 13, Pennsylvania 10, Princeton 10, Duke 10, Catholic University of America 9, Ohio State 7, Minnesota 7, North Carolina 6, Yale 6, Virginia 5, Washington 5, Missouri 5, Johns Hopkins 5, and Michigan 4.

11 courses in that field; and No. 54, with 502 students, offers 12.¹ That there has been this multiplication of courses is not a discovery of this inquiry, but its significance as it relates to training for participation in politics has received very little attention. No one would attempt to deny that the development of teaching and research in political science in the last half century has been to the great profit of our country. The process of curricular proliferation, however, has not been an unmixed blessing. Eager competition between institutions has led to the introduction of courses without too much regard to whether or not they pay dividends in terms of preparation for citizenship. Human nature in the faculties and trustees of institutions of higher learning conceals itself in finer language than among the members of volunteer fire companies, but it works in much the same way. When the fire company in one north shore village acquires a bigger, brighter and more impressively equipped pumper than its neighbors the fire companies all over the county demand and get similar equipment whether they need it or not. When one university opens up a course in Latin American relations, far eastern politics, or public personnel administration, every other university of comparable financial and intellectual prestige suffers pangs of jealousy until it has one or more of the same, sometimes—it must be regretfully admitted—without reference to the need for the new course.

Another significant cause of the proliferation of courses is that academic success is most commonly attained by specialization in some relatively narrow field rather than by brilliant and inspiring teaching of fundamentals to the mass of students. When the teacher has prepared himself so intensively in a particular subject the urge to make a course of it is almost irresistible. There is thus constant pressure from faculty members to offer additional courses, and as this has the appearance at least of enriching the curriculum presidents and trustees readily yield to it. The result is a host of courses in which the degree of specialization is increasingly high.

¹ The returns to the questionnaire have been arranged alphabetically by states and by institutions within states. Numbers are used to avoid mention of the names of the institutions.

This proliferation of courses has a significant bearing on training for participation in politics because the effort, time and money spent on such courses tend to divert the available intellectual as well as financial resources of colleges or universities from the more humdrum but essential task of solidly grounding the largest possible number of students in things they ought to know if they are to participate effectively in politics. It is not contended that the whole scheme of political science teaching is out of joint. It is the conclusion of this study, however, that the process of proliferation should be reviewed critically, and that careful consideration should be given to the construction of curricula in which practical training for participation in politics should be given adequate attention. That it is not given adequate attention today is apparent from the findings of this inquiry.

EXTENT OF STUDENT EXPOSURE TO TRAINING FOR PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Approximately one-half the undergraduates in the colleges and universities responding to the questionnaire were exposed to whatever training for participation in politics is provided by the introductory courses in American government and other introductory courses in which some attention is paid to citizenship training. The 218 institutions reporting introductory course data gave the enrolment in such courses as 48,030, contrasting with a total of 391,000 undergraduates enrolled in these institutions. Assuming what would be a rough approximation of fact, that in a four-year period four times as many students would take these courses, the total number "exposed" would be slightly less than 50% of the reported enrolment. As many of the larger institutions reported only their undergraduate enrolments in liberal arts or its equivalent, the percentage of all undergraduates taking such courses in all the colleges and universities of the country would be much smaller. The unhappy fact is that more than half of all college students never get even that degree of training for participation in politics which is provided by such introductory courses.

The proportion of students who pass through an introductory course directly related to citizenship training naturally varies considerably from institution to institution. Of the 218 reporting introductory course data, 35 require the introductory course to be taken either at a particular stage in the student's four years in college or as a condition of graduation. The total enrolment reported for these 35 courses was 15,234 or about 32% of the enrolment in all 218 introductory courses.

At the other end of the scale is a university (No. 158) with a liberal arts enrolment of 2,200, only 23 of whom were taking the beginning course in—as it happens—constitutional history of the United States. Assuming the continuance of the same ratio through a four-year period, one student in 23.9 would take this course. There were at the same time 17 students in American federal government, 20 in American state government, 13 in American municipal government, 10 in political parties, and 15 in governmental administration. Even assuming that there would be no duplication in the enrolments in these courses over a four-year period—and it would be considerable—only one in 5.6 students would get within effective range of any direct training for participation in politics. This is an extreme case but there are dozens of institutions in which the introductory course enrolment over a four-year period would be 20% or less of institutional enrolment.

Those students who do not take the introductory course usually take no other course in political science. In fact, the introductory course is in very many instances a prerequisite for all more advanced courses. The number of students enrolled in other courses is, as a rule, a small fraction of those taking the introductory course. No attempt has been made to add together the number of students reached by the more advanced courses. Any such figure would be very misleading because so large a proportion of such students take more than one course. The following examples will better serve to indicate the relative enrolments in introductory and advanced courses. No. 196, a large school with an enrolment of 1,400 in a required introductory course, has only 120 in its next largest course—"World Politics," 100 in its course on "Govern-

ment of the British Commonwealth," and no other course with more than 50 students. A somewhat smaller school, where the introductory course is not required, reported 360 in that course, 77 in "America in World Affairs," 55 in "Public Opinion and Propaganda," and not more than 36 in any other course. As far as mass preparation of college men and women for participation in politics is concerned, the whole task falls on the introductory course. Such as it is, it misses—on the average—a good half of them altogether.

TYPES OF INTRODUCTORY COURSES

What sort of training for participation in politics then is given that half of our college and university students who take an introductory course in which training for citizenship is a consideration? Of the 218 introductory courses reported, 156 were in "American Government." The remaining 62 were of the several varieties shown in the accompanying table.

TYPES OF INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN 218 INSTITUTIONS

<i>Number of courses</i>	<i>Description of course</i>	<i>Number of students enrolled</i>
156	American Government	33,290
22	Political Theory	3,040
6	Political Theory & Comparative Government	2,144
2	Comparative Government	235
7	American History	1,815
7	Sociological Approach	934
4	History of Civilization	965
8	Surveys of Social Sciences	3,200
6	Citizenship	2,407
218		48,030

INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

The returns to the questionnaire clearly indicate that the amount of time devoted to these courses is in a majority of institutions deplorably small. Of the 156 courses under consideration, 63 were given 3 times a week for a full year of 2 semesters, giving the student 6 semester hours of credit, while 56 were given 3 times a week for only 1 semester. The remaining 37 courses were mostly in institutions using the "quarter" system. Assuming that 8 quarter hours are equal to 6 semester hours, 29 of these courses were given for less than the equivalent of 3 hours a week for the year. This makes a total of 85 courses below and only 71 equal to or above the standard full-year 3-hour course.

The attempt of the questionnaire to ascertain the proportion of each course devoted to each of the four elements of citizenship training previously referred to proved only partially successful. Some of those responsible for making returns to the questionnaire were frankly skeptical of the possibility of analyzing the elements of citizenship training in their courses on the basis suggested, and in some instances declined to try. There have also been noted a number of instances in which the percentages set down were not internally consistent or were at variance with the verbal description of the courses listed. It must be admitted that a compilation of the percentages would fall far short of giving an accurate and balanced picture of the relative stress put on the four elements. There were, however, among the introductory courses in American Government 129 instances in which the proportions of a course or section of a course devoted to each of the four elements was indicated by a definite percentage. Considering these as they relate to Element D alone,¹ the results found are interesting and illuminating because they show the teacher's opinion of how much emphasis he is putting on this matter so vital to training for participation in politics. The following table shows the distribution of these opinions by percentage groups.

¹ "Familiarity with the practical workings of the American political system, including parties and other means of influencing elections and the conduct of legislative bodies."

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF 129 COURSES IN
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT DEVOTED TO ELEMENT D

<i>Percentage of course</i>	<i>Number of courses</i>
66.6	1
50	3
40	3
35	1
33.3	3
30	23
25	23
22.2	1
20	28
16.6	3
15	14
13	1
12.5	1
10	19
5	4
0	1
Total	129

The median is 20% and only 8.5% of the 129 courses are estimated at more than 30%. If these estimates are reliable it would indicate that a majority of the courses are giving a fifth or less of their time and effort to the practical workings of our political system. In 31% of these courses the proportion devoted to the practical workings of the American political system was 15% or less. These figures bear out the contention that actual training for participation in politics is often neglected. It should be remembered, moreover, that the above figures are based on the opinions expressed by teachers whose natural tendency would be to exaggerate the phase of their work obviously under scrutiny in the questionnaire.

Another approach to the content and character of the introductory courses in American Government can be made through

consideration of the textbooks used. It so happens that one textbook is used by 52 of the 154 introductory courses in American Government for which data is available, while other texts by the same authors, which are merely abbreviations or condensations of the first, are used in 25 other courses. Half the introductory courses in American Government and almost half the students enrolled in all such courses use, to all intents and purposes, one text. This work is well known to the authors of this study, one of whom used it for several years in classes at the University of Michigan. It is a careful, accurate and exceedingly compendious volume, containing an unusual amount of reliable and up-to-date information on American government. It serves admirably as a background for lectures because it fills all the gaps the lecturer may leave. No one would contend, however, that it is inspirational. It is not the kind of book students would read voluntarily in their leisure hours. It would never of itself arouse a student's interest in participating in politics. It is only fair to add that few, if any, of its competitors would do so either. The character of current text-books available for introductory courses in American government puts an unusual share of the responsibility for creating interest of that kind upon the classroom methods and the instructor's personality. The portion of the most popular text, devoted to Element D, is approximately 10%. If there is more than 10% of the courses in which it is used devoted to Element D it is because the instructor inserts such material in lectures or class discussions.

The methods employed in the conduct of introductory courses in American government are on the whole uniformly conservative. The expressions "lecture and discussion" or "lecture and recitation" appear with monotonous regularity on the returns to the questionnaire. It is not, for the purposes of this report, considered useful to go into any lengthy discussion of the relative merits of methods which are just as applicable to history, geography, philosophy, sociology, economics, or even descriptive courses in the natural sciences, as to political science. Big lecture courses, for example, have been subject to a good deal of criticism, due in part, as W. B. Munro said years ago, to the scarcity

of good lecturers. They appear, in their unadulterated form at least, to be passing out of the picture. There are in the questionnaire returns very few cases of large lecture courses where the class is not divided into small "quiz sections" for at least one meeting a week. Similarly, there is no reason for entering here into the perennial arguments over such questions as the use of syllabi, panel discussions, projects, term papers, or visual materials.

There are, however, methods outside the usual classroom routine which are peculiarly applicable to training for participation in politics. The returns to the questionnaire indicate that only in 26 out of the 156 introductory courses in American Government was any attempt made to use such methods. Only two examples have been found of the device of organizing the class as a legislative body. There were, however, numerous mock trials, mock nominating conventions, mock sessions of the U.N. Security Council or Assembly, and mock sessions of Congress, carried on as extracurricular activities or as joint enterprises of groups of colleges, to which reference will be made later. A rather obvious method of lending realism to the subject of American Government is to take the class on excursions to the national or state capital, the city hall or county courthouse. These excursions, when the class is small and properly prepared in advance, may be useful, but when large numbers are involved usually mean very little except a break in the monotony of college life. The questionnaire returns revealed 5 examples of simple "visits" of this kind. Another device which is used to a very limited extent (4 examples) is to bring outside speakers—usually local public officials—into the classroom. The introduction of outside speakers is better adapted to small groups of advanced students than to large classes of beginners. Obviously officials cannot be expected to make multiple appearances before the sections of large courses. The place for outside speakers to reach large numbers of students is in college assemblies or lecture series organized outside the classroom, and that is where they were found most frequently in the questionnaire returns.

Attempts to enliven and illustrate the teaching of American

Government by reference to current political events are doubtless more common than the returns to the questionnaire indicate. They showed, however, the following six specific efforts in this direction:

1. Analysis of the speeches and personal data of candidates.
2. Following an assigned current political activity in daily press and periodicals.
3. Attempt to get students to attend meetings, read newspapers and listen to the radio in following campaigns.
- 4 and 5. Requiring reading of daily newspapers and periodicals:
6. Requiring attendance at forums on political topics on campus and in town.

Of somewhat similar character was the requirement in one course that each student follow the course of a bill or group of related bills through Congress in the Congressional Record and the press.

It scarcely could be contended that these "unusual" devices for making courses realistic and rousing student interest are of any staggering significance. In their actual execution they may amount to very little. One has no means of knowing how much. Nor is one impressed by bare statements, found in two instances, that students were encouraged to engage in political activity. There were in fact only 8 of the 156 introductory courses in American Government which seemed to have added devices to the usual routine which might bring students in touch with politicians and public officials, and by familiarizing them with the actual workings of government and politics prepare them for active participation. Their contributions to citizenship training will be presented in some detail.

No. 20 provides field trips to the capital of the state and to the home towns of students from which there are enough students to make such trips feasible. Actual contacts are worked out in co-operation with local organizations of the League of Women Voters. In addition, at Christmas and Easter vacations, students

are required to take home a questionnaire relating to local government in their own community, which they must fill out and bring back to college.

No. 64 requires students from time to time to study and report on political leaders in their home communities.

No. 120 requires an interview with a politician, a visit to a court of law and a report on what was observed, and an interview with a businessman on the subject of government regulation of business.

No. 141 requires each student to investigate and report on a "project" relating to his home community. The results are presented in a "panel discussion" toward the end of the year. About 10% of the class select a topic relating to the organization of political parties. In any event the student must interview local officials to find out what his home community is doing or not doing on the subject of the project.

No. 157 requires special field trips and reports to acquaint students with local government and political organizations.

No. 165 in the academic year 1948-1949 required all students to participate in a census of the city's voters as part of a study of voting behavior.

No. 192 requires students in the second semester to visit local officials to collect information on a topic relating to local government. The results of these interviews, together with library reading on the subject, are embodied in a term report which is presented orally to the class as well as in written form.

No. 199 requires each student to compile information useful to a voter in the student's own voting district, especially information relating to offices, whether public or party, which are filled by election.

When all is said that can be said, the methods employed in most introductory courses in American Government—approximately 83% of them—are merely the usual methods employed in college courses, methods with which we have all been familiar for the past 50 years at least. The essays in the direction of new devices which have been made in such courses have been tentative and feeble. Even in the last category of courses, requiring some con-

tact with politicians or local officials, one sees only a pale reflection of the laboratory method of citizenship training.

OTHER TYPES OF INTRODUCTORY COURSES

Of 62 introductory courses of which American Government was not specifically the subject we have data as to hours on 61. Arranged in two groups, one for those equivalent to 6 hours over one year or more and another for those with a smaller number of hours, the results are shown in an accompanying table. The proportion of courses below the 6-unit or 3-hours-a-week for a full year standard was 45.9% of the total, a somewhat better showing than among the American Government courses but still indicative of a lack of proper interest in training for participation in politics. The second of the tables breaks down these figures for the several types of courses represented. It is perhaps significant of the difficulty of establishing courses in citizenship per se that only 1 out of 6 has room for as much as 3 hours per week for a year. It must be remembered, however, that one of these courses

NUMBER OF HOURS IN 61 INTRODUCTORY COURSES

<i>Hours</i>	<i>Courses with 3 hours per week for year, or more</i>	<i>Courses with less than 3 hours per week for year</i>
10 semester hours	2	—
8 " "	3	—
6 " "	25	—
4 " "	—	7
3 " "	—	16
2 " "	—	1
15 quarter "	1	—
10 " "	1	—
8 " "	1	—
4 " "	—	1
3 " "	—	2
45 term "	—	1
	33	28

HOURS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF COURSES

<i>Type of course</i>	<i>3 hours per week for year, or more</i>	<i>Less than 3 hours per week for year</i>
Political theory	9	13
Theory & comparative govt. ^a	3	2
Comparative government	2	—
Sociological approach	6	1
American history	4	3
History of civilization	1	3
Social science survey	7	1
Citizenship	1	5
	33	28

^a No data on one course.

(No. 168), for which credit is given at the rate of 2 hours each half year, is actually regarded as taking more of the student's time than the regular 3-hour-a-week course in American Government at the same university. It must be admitted that a good half course may be better than a poor course taking twice as much of the student's time. But as a good heavy-weight is better than a good light-weight in the squared circle, so a good full course is better than a good half course. It seems incontestable that many institutions devote too little time to the introductory course in which most students get all the training for participation in politics they will get from any formal instruction.

When it comes to the content of each of these groups of courses, omitting the citizenship group for the moment, one general observation is in order. However small a proportion of courses in American Government is devoted to direct training for participation in politics, i.e., to Element D, a much smaller proportion can and will be devoted to it in the courses which include so much wider areas of knowledge. In fact, it would seem that Element A must also be watered down to such a degree as to leave the student with a very unsubstantial acquaintance with the institutions of the country he is expected to help govern. The tendency to cut down on the amount of government taught is especially evident in the social science survey, history of civilization, and

sociological approach courses. History courses may be given a strong institutional bent. Political theory, though sometimes a long way from the facts of life, is at least an attempt to explain the principles which underlie our political system, and citizenship, rightly conceived, is the very essence of what students most need to learn. These generalizations, however, as shall be pointed out, are belied by the actual content of some courses.

The thinning out as far as Element D is concerned is apparent from the estimated proportion of courses devoted to that element. Of the 62 courses under consideration only 39 made the percentage estimates asked for. The results are shown in the following table:

<i>Percentage of course</i>	<i>Number of courses</i>
50	1
33.3	1
25	5
20	6
15	5
10	8
9	1
8	2
6	1
5	3
3.3	1
3	1
0	4
Total	39

The median is 10% and 26, or 66.6% of the 39 for which estimates were made, were 15% or lower. The judgment of the teachers in this case corresponds with what might be expected from the nature of the courses themselves. A break down of the estimates for these 39 courses by type of course follows. Since much light is thrown on the content of the individual courses of each type not only by the description of the course supplied us, but by the textbooks and other readings listed, and the methods employed, one must consider all these factors together for each group.

	0-5%	6-15%	Over 15%
Political theory	5	6	3
Theory & comparative government	—	1	—
Comparative government	—	1	1
Sociological approach	2	5	—
American history	—	2	2
History of civilization	—	—	2
Social science surveys	2	2	2
Citizenship	—	—	3
	9	17	13

INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN POLITICAL THEORY

No less than 11 of the 22 courses in this group are offered in Catholic colleges under the auspices of several different teaching orders. All of these courses are straight political theory courses, with some connection with American institutions and problems. Eight other courses in this group require no extended discussion. They bear such titles as "Growth of Democratic Thought," "Introduction to Politics," "Elements of Political Science," and "Principles of Government," which are sufficiently descriptive of their content. Several of these courses are offered by colleges under Protestant religious auspices. It is natural that schools with religious backgrounds should lean heavily on the establishment in the student's mind of principles of government compatible with the ethical and philosophical teachings of the faith they profess. These courses differ enough to accommodate the personalities of their instructors and the religious leanings of their institutions. They are, however, so much alike as to be indistinguishable for the purposes of this analysis.

Three of the courses in the theory group require special mention.

No. 14A, under the title "Essentials of Government," deals with the principles and institutions common to all political systems, with special application to the government of the United States. The originality of its treatment may be inferred from the fact that it employs as texts Robinson's *The Mind in the Making*,

Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*, and McIver's *Web of Government*. That it gets back to earth is indicated by its use in the second semester of Dimock and Dimock, *American Government in Action*.

Number 70 emphasizes the role of the individual in the political life of the nation and the world. In addition it requires reports from students on the political situation in their own communities, presented orally before the class. Visits are made to the state legislature and town meetings are attended, and along with such texts as Corry's *Elements of Democratic Government* and Coker's *Democracy, Liberty and Property* the students also read Christensen and Kirkpatrick, *The People, Politics and the Politicians*, and subscribe to a news magazine. Thus the theory and practice of politics are combined.

Number 108—a very important Catholic university—combines theory and practice most effectively in its course on "Fundamentals of Government." For the first semester the text is the old reliable Willoughby, *The Government of Modern States*, and for the second Ogg and Ray's *Essentials of American Government*. In both semesters the course is punctuated with field trips and by lectures by public officials.

It is significant that of the 22 courses in the theory group only 2 (Nos. 70 and 108) confess to employing in part the laboratory method. This was to be expected as the theoretical approach is essentially a bookish one.

INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN WHICH THEORY AND COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT ARE COMBINED

The six courses in this group are offered by institutions which are for the most part of unusually high standing. They differ somewhat in the proportions of the course assigned to theory, foreign governments and American government. Number 83A devotes the first semester to theory and divides the second semester between foreign governments and the government of the United States with a brief fling at the relation of democratic institutions to world government. Number 87 appears from its syllabus to de-

vote perhaps one-sixth of the course to theory, half to the government of the United States, and the remainder to the governments of Britain, France and Soviet Russia. Number 193 divides the course about equally between theory, the governments of Britain, Germany and Russia, and the government of the United States. Number 195 devotes 25% of the course to political theory, 25% to European government, and 50% to the government of the United States. All of the courses of this group are conducted after the traditional academic fashion except No. 87 which requires visits by students to state and local agencies of government and written reports on the findings.

It is obvious that courses which cut American government down to a fraction of the whole must perforce reduce that part of the course which most directly prepares for active participation in politics to something rather shadowy. It happens that the quality of instruction in this group of courses is above the average, but the elevation of tone and the breadth of generality which are inherent in them seem to remove them still further from the realm of practical politics. The following announcement of one of the courses (No. 83A) will illustrate the point:

First Semester: "*The Development of the Concepts of Constitutional Government*. An introduction to the study of government through some of the major political theorists, from Plato and Aristotle to modern liberalism, socialism and communism. Its emphasis is on the contest in Western thought and history between totalitarianism and constitutionalism. Its aim is to acquaint the prospective student of government as well as those who propose to take only one general course in government with the historical perspective under which the major political problems of law, political obligation, and the organization of the modern state have developed."

Second Semester: "*Modern Government*. This course deals primarily with political institutions in the contemporary world. It includes a study of the government of the United States and its constitutional background, together with a briefer study of the governments of the principal foreign powers, with special emphasis on the parliamentary and soviet systems. It includes also an estimate of the present position of democratic institutions and their relation to world government."

INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT

Of these two courses one (No. 153) divides the year equally between American and other governments. The other (No. 88A) devotes one semester and six weeks of the next to American Government with—to judge from its syllabus—a strong theoretical tinge, and ten weeks to the European democracies and dictatorships. Neither employs novel methods except that No. 88A requires reading of the New York Times and Herald Tribune, not a very radical procedure.

INTRODUCTORY COURSES WITH SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

It can be fairly said of this group of six courses that as a whole they are mostly sociology. We have already commented on the low percentage of these courses estimated by the teachers to be assignable to Element D. There can be little doubt that these estimates are above the truth. Only two of this group require individual mention. No. 19A is given for 15 units for three quarters. It uses as texts Mundenhall's *Select Problems in Historical Interpretation* and Stuart Chase's *The Proper Study of Mankind*, but it gets down to earth by requiring in the third quarter a report by each student on a problem calling for first-hand research in the community. This study might or might not—most probably the latter—have political implications. No. 30 brings "Contemporary Civilization" into some kind of focus on the matter of citizenship training by using as one of its texts Mosher's *Introduction to Responsible Citizenship*, and requires students to subscribe to *Time*.

INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Of these 7 courses 2 are by designation courses in constitutional history, 1 in political and constitutional history, and a fourth in the history of American institutions. A fifth, called a "Survey of American History," is described as putting considerable emphasis on institutions and parties. Of the remaining courses one is a survey of American history and the other is entitled "The

United States in World History." Such courses are by no means a total loss of time as far as training for participation in politics is concerned but they are far from providing a satisfactory basis for stepping out into the political field.

INTRODUCTORY COURSES DEALING WITH THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

The notable member of this group is No. 14. It is entitled "History of Social and Intellectual Institutions." It is described in the catalogue as "an integrated course using history as the unifying principle and considering at each historical stage man's social, religious, economic, political and psychological development." The work of the freshman year, required of all students, comes only to 1870. The work of the sophomore year, also required, brings the story down to date. This makes a 2-year, 16-unit requirement in social science for all students. Since the course has to satisfy the state law requiring that all students study the constitution of the state and the United States as a condition of graduation, it is unusually heavily weighted for courses of this type with political science material and contributes more than ordinarily to training for citizenship.¹ Element D is estimated at 25%, probably—and regretfully so—an exaggeration. What a long running start such a course takes before it can get down to current political activities appears from the textbooks used: Hayes, *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*; Hicks, *A Short History of American Democracy*; Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life*.

INTRODUCTORY COURSES WHICH SURVEY SOCIAL SCIENCE

Rivalling the History of Civilization courses in the vast territory they cover are the Social Science Survey courses. Eight of these courses have been listed. They usually make use of one of several "surveys" or "introductions" to social science as a basic text,

¹ For purposes of comparison in our tabulations we have used the freshman year (Social Science 1 and 2) only.

supplemented by other reading which usually includes some standard works on American government. One of these courses (No. 95) devotes one portion of the course—3 hours a week for a quarter—to political science and the other 2 quarters to other social sciences. Another (No. 172) deals in the first semester with the principles of economics against a sociological background and in the second semester with American government against a socio-economic background, using Landis' *Social Policies in the Making* and Bishop and Hendel's *Basic Issues of American Democracy* as texts.¹ Some idea of the emphasis in the other social science survey courses may be had from the list of topics discussed in one of them (No. 61).

FIRST SEMESTER

Part I. INTRODUCTION

1. Nature and content of the social sciences.
2. The American scene.
3. Social organization.
4. Social change.

Part II. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES

1. Fundamentals of the American system of government.
2. The American government in action.
3. Politics and elections.
4. Propaganda and public opinion.
5. Structure of the American government.
6. The civil liberties.

Part III. PUBLIC FINANCE

1. Governmental expenditures.
2. Taxation.
3. Governmental borrowing.

Part IV. THE FAMILY

1. The family as a social institution.
2. The family and economic change.

¹ In both these cases we have used for statistical purposes only the portion of the course earmarked for politics or government.

3. The family and social change.
4. The disorganization of the family.

Part V. POPULATION PROBLEMS

1. Significant population trends and problems.
2. Movements of population.
3. Race problems in the United States.

Part VI. CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL

1. Nature and extent of criminality.
2. The making of the criminal.
3. The machinery of justice.
4. Punishment for crime.
5. From punishment to treatment and prevention.

Part VII. NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE FARM PROBLEM

1. Soil erosion and depletion.
2. Wasting of forest and mineral resources.
3. A program of conservation.
4. Fundamentals of the farm problem to 1933.
5. The farm problem since 1933.

Part VIII. THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

1. Prices and the price system.
2. Money.
3. Credit and banking institutions.
4. The Federal Reserve system.
5. Changing price levels.
6. Special problems of the consumer.

*Part IX. CHARACTERISTICS AND OPERATION OF
MODERN BUSINESS*

1. Basic characteristics of modern business.
2. Mass production and economic concentration.
3. Organization of business.

Part X. THE GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

1. The general problems of government and business.
2. Government aids to business.
3. Government regulation of business.
4. Government ownership of business.

Part XI. LABOR PROBLEMS

1. Working for wages.
2. Labor unions.
3. Labor looks to government.
 - a. Status of labor and labor organizations.
 - b. Unemployment.
 - c. Social security.

Part XII. WORLD AFFAIRS

1. The United States in world affairs in the twentieth century.
2. Prelude to the second world war.
3. The course of the war.
4. The post-war international scene.

These topics are well chosen and well arranged for a college in a rural section of the United States. They form the basis for an interesting, if not realistic, year's study. As a contribution to training for participation in politics this course is concerned mostly with Element C—the problems with which government must deal. The estimates of the percentage of the course devoted to each element was A-5, B-5, C-55, D-5. In our opinion, the amount of time devoted to the elements other than C was so little as to be practically wasted. It is probable that in such courses the treatment of every topic is so much diluted as to be of little practical value.

INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN "CITIZENSHIP"

Six such courses were reported and they have been hopefully listed as they were labelled. They differ, however, very much in content and method. One cannot do better than describe each separately.

No. 35 is a course intended primarily for those who take no other course in government. Its intent is to deal with the problems of the ordinary citizen, with a view to enabling him to know how to function as a citizen and to understand the political situation in which he finds himself. The text is Odegard and Helms, *American Politics*, and the methods used are lecture, discussion

and "visitation." Each student is required to contact a local pressure group and write a report on his findings. Class visits are also paid to city hall and other public offices.

No. 42, under the title "Responsible Citizenship," offers a course which is essentially one in western civilization rather than political science. The catalogue declares:

"Responsible citizenship in a democracy is conceived of in terms of a broad understanding of human nature and of the institutions which groups of people have adopted in order better to meet their needs, rather than in terms of the structure of government, how to vote, and the like. . . .

"The topics treated include: a survey of what the human being is and how he develops, with special emphasis on social behavior; the rudiments of economics; political and governmental institutions; the development of democratic procedures in western culture; and a glimpse into social philosophy."

This represents a point of view quite different from that of The Citizenship Clearing House. Important as the attitudes such a course encourages may be, the student still has very much to learn before he can be effective in the life of a party organization.

No. 54 represents an ambitious attempt to emphasize citizenship training and at the same time secure a great deal of publicity for the institution conducting it. The course, which carries three hours of credit for a full year, is divided into sections of 25 each for 2 meetings a week and for the third hour listens to a speaker or panel discussion in the college chapel. The first 15 minutes of this session are broadcast over the college radio station. The lecture is followed by a luncheon at which a member of the class presides and at the conclusion of which the speaker answers questions. The luncheons are at college expense and speakers are compensated from the college budget. Each student pays a \$3.00 fee on signing up for the course, with which books and periodicals for the course are purchased and placed on reserve in the library. The course is divided into 10 units, with special reading assignments, each of which occupies the class for two or three weeks. One-third of these units are concerned directly with American

Government, with special emphasis on parties, elections and pressure groups. The remainder of the course is occupied with ethics, economics, foreign policy and international organization. A competent field man or course manager is employed to secure speakers and handle public relations. One peculiarity, perhaps a weakness, is that the topics discussed by the outside speakers are not necessarily integrated with the units the students are currently considering. The speakers seem to be of sufficient prominence and practical experience to make the contact with them worthwhile.

No. 60, a municipal university, makes an attempt to provide an understanding of the conditions and methods of intelligent, effective and responsible participation in public affairs. Ten weeks are spent on "political society," 3 on local government, and 4 on parliamentary law, this last part of the course being aimed at training students to preside at meetings, carry on business as members of an organization, keep and write minutes, and prepare a simple constitution for an organization. The texts are Mosher's *Introduction to Responsible Citizenship*, and Jones' *Senior Manual for Group Leadership*. The course is required of sophomores.

No. 142 avows aims similar to those of No. 60. It "takes up the chief aspects of modern society and government as they affect the individual citizen, with continuous reference to elements recurring in history and common to varying cultures." It is tied to reality by assigning students to projects taking them into political activity and involving study of local government through first-hand observation. The text is a volume prepared by the staff of the school on *Problems of Democratic Citizenship*. This course is required of all freshmen.

Finally, there is found in No. 168 the course in which the most decided effort has been made to bring students into contact with local political conditions, the most thorough-going example of the laboratory method among introductory courses covered by this inquiry. This course is given in the sophomore year and is required for graduation unless the student elects the 3-hours-a-week for-2-semesters course in American Government which is rated a senior course. In the fall of 1948 there were 506 students en-

rolled in "Effective Citizenship" and 491 in "American Government."

The original idea of the course, as expressed by Professor O. Garfield Jones in two articles in the *National Municipal Review*, in October 1928 and February 1940, was the use of the City of Toledo as a laboratory. This conception has been somewhat modified on account of the pressure of numbers. As described in 1940, there were four main stages in the course:

1. The precinct report.
2. Parliamentary practice.
3. The study of a city office.
4. The mock charter convention in which the knowledge acquired by all the students in each stage was integrated.

The textbooks used are MacDonald, *American City Government and Administration*, and Jones, *Senior Manual for Group Leadership*. There are only 5 lectures, 3 on the political history of Toledo, which follow the election of each year, and 2 on the theory of budget making and the Toledo budget, which occur while the budget is under discussion in the press. Sections are kept as nearly as possible to 30 members.

The precinct report, a feature of the fall program, is a study of all the pertinent facts concerning a particular precinct, the voting behavior of its citizens in past elections as well as the details of the current campaign, and an estimate of how the vote will stand at the coming election. It requires personal interviews with the precinct officials of all parties. There is an election, state and national or local, in Toledo each year, so this laboratory facility is always at hand. A typical precinct study consists of 42 pages, mostly taken up by samples of campaign literature and newspaper clippings pasted in, the collection of which required considerable alertness on the student's part. He estimated that there would be 192 votes for Dewey and 154 for Truman. They actually received 113 and 212 respectively. For this miscalculation, for which he could not have been much to blame, his grade was not an *A* but a *B+* and his paper therefore was not eligible for

the precinct report cash prize contest which has been established to further stimulate interest.

The period of parliamentary practice is much emphasized by Professor Jones as training students to participate in group activities. At the beginning of the second semester each student formerly was assigned a unit of the city administration to study. To begin, the student looked up the background material and then topped it off with an interview with the official in charge. If a student, for example, were assigned a police traffic officer to interview, he must first master the subject of traffic control before talking to the officer. The great size of the course in the "G.I." period finally forced abandonment of the compulsory interview. Students will study units of the city administration and are thus prepared for the final stage of the course—a mock charter convention into which each section is organized. Every student participates, as an officer of the convention or as a member of a committee, in some phase of charter making.

Such a course has obvious values. Perhaps the most important of them was expressed by Professor Jones in the February 1940 number of the *National Municipal Review*, as follows:

"The emotional inhibitions to active citizen participation are broken down by being repeatedly over-ridden by will power. The timid girl does interview the politician, does interview the city official, does preside as chairman and does serve as floor leader on occasion, not because she likes to but because all the other students do it and she is determined not to be the only quitter in the entire student body."

"Effective Citizenship" has had few and only partial imitators. The administration of such a course means a great deal of work and a corps of well trained teachers. It is therefore expensive. The professor in charge must have the confidence of politicians and officials. On the other hand, the effort made is not too rewarding in the way of academic appreciation which goes to the learned and the abstruse. Its methods are not available to institutions located in small places. Hence the device noted previously, of giving the students holiday assignments in their own communities.

There is no question, however, that under the conditions prevailing in Toledo and at its municipal university this course has stood the test of time and has a right to claim that it trains effectively for participation in politics.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON INTRODUCTORY COURSES OTHER THAN IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

We found in only 6 of the 62 courses in this group what by any stretch of the imagination could be called the laboratory method of training for participation in politics. In general, except for some of the courses labelled "Citizenship," any material pertinent to training for citizenship is present only in a highly diluted form. This is a natural consequence of the extent to which they wander over the wide spaces of knowledge. The frequent complaint that the average young man or woman was graduating from college with only bits and scraps of unrelated knowledge in their notebooks, if not in their heads, and that the best of them were specialized in some narrow field, and ignoramuses in everything else, led some years ago to a movement for more generalized education in the early years of the college course. Orientation courses, survey courses, history of civilization courses, sprang up. More recently a more systematic attempt in the same direction has found expression in the "General Studies" programs at Harvard, Iowa and other places. These efforts, highly commendable in their objectives, fail to take account of the fact that generalization too often means vagueness, and with the enormous multiplication of fields of knowledge attempts to bring any large part of them into coordination in one 3- or 5-hour course a week are hopeless. The attempt to do so results in the student coming out with a billowy mist of information as unusable as the unrelated bits and scraps it was hoped to integrate. One cannot teach the American party system in 1, 2, or 3 lectures. This current trend in college curricula has not mitigated the weakness in training for participation in politics but rather the reverse. It is to be noted that Professor Jones' "Effective Citizenship," which has been demonstrably successful in preparing students for political

activity, represents a concentration in the narrow field of one city's government, in contrast to the all-embracing tactics of many other courses.

TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE OF TEACHERS IN INTRODUCTORY COURSES

We have seen that there is little in the content or methods of the great majority of the introductory courses reviewed in this report to prepare students for and motivate them towards active participation in politics. It remains to be seen whether there is anything in the experience and training of the teachers in such courses which might remedy this deficiency.

The returns to the questionnaire supply data on 477 teachers in introductory courses. Approximately half of them (235 in all) had Ph.D. degrees, all but 8 from American universities. Two had Master's degrees from Oxford. Two had no degrees at all. There were 18 with an LL.B., 22 Bachelors of Arts or Science, and 191 with Master's degrees. Seven miscellaneous degrees in divinity, education, business administration, etc., made up the total. Of those with Bachelor's and Master's degrees all but a very few were active candidates for the Ph.D. Good teaching, of course, is not dependent on the possession of any degree. There is some ground of criticism, however, for a closed-shop union in which there are nearly as many apprentices as journeymen. On the other hand it should be pointed out that introductory courses are not much worse treated in this respect than other courses. There are only a few large introductory courses in which the brunt of discussion and recitation is borne by youthful apprentices. In many more the instruction is given by all the leading members of the political science faculty. The greatest weakness, so far as academic preparation of teachers is concerned, is to be found in those small colleges where only persons still in the apprentice stage are employed to give instruction in political science. It is one thing for the student to be practiced upon by an intern—to use an analogy from another profession—under the eye of experienced superiors, and another to be the subject of a fledgling practitioner wholly on his own.

Much more significant, however, than the fact that many young men and women not yet fully prepared are teaching introductory courses concerned in some degree with training for participation in politics is the fact that what they are preparing to become is Ph.D.'s. This is not the place for a review of the merits and defects of the Ph.D. training. It is important in this study, however, that most Ph.D.'s teaching in the field covered by it were trained in a few universities by other Ph.D.'s in accordance with a long established pattern. This has not only been a controlling factor in the present uniformity of course offerings and teaching methods, but has perpetuated the deficiencies of Ph.D. training with regard to the practical aspects of politics. There was little room for even the book study of practical politics in the Ph.D. programs of 50 years ago. There is very little today and there will be very little 50 years hence, unless some outside force introduces it. A genuine acquaintance with practical politics, moreover, can be acquired only by participation in it. There is no encouragement for Ph.D. candidates to serve part of their apprenticeships in political activity.

As to acquiring political experience after the acceptance of a faculty appointment there are serious obstacles. It is not easy for an unprepared stranger in a community to step into its political life. Presidents and boards of trustees are often reluctant to see their employees mingle in politics. Politics is explosive stuff, and those who handle college finances are shy of it.

It should not be surprising therefore that the number of teachers in introductory courses with substantial political experience is small. The count, indeed, shows that 170, or 35%, of the 477 concerning whose qualifications information is available, had some kind of experience in office holding or in the activities of political parties. The fact is, however, that the kind of experience had is not in many instances calculated to teach them much of the art of politics. The number who have held public office is 131 and among them they have occupied 202 positions (excluding the armed services except Military Government), distributed as shown in the accompanying table.

PUBLIC OFFICES HELD BY INTRODUCTORY COURSE TEACHERS

	<i>Local Government</i>	<i>State Government</i>	<i>Federal Government</i>	<i>Total</i>
Elective offices	14	7	2	23
Membership on boards and other unsalaried positions	12	8	11	31
Administrative jobs	16	23	93	132
Consulting positions	3	1	12	16
<i>Total</i>	<u>45</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>202</u>

Election to an office, even the small city and village offices which constitute a majority of those listed, indicates significant political experience. The same is true of some of the honorary positions included in the second category. A few of the administrative jobs, for example an assistant secretary of a federal department, a deputy commissioner of finance and assistant to the governor, and a state director of purchases, were in the thick of political life. Consulting positions are a proof of professional prestige but not of political experience. All in all, only a very minor fraction of the 202 positions, omitting the elective offices, count very heavily toward preparing their incumbents to teach politics.

The largest class of positions—the administrative—was made up for the most part of routine jobs largely in the classified service. Such positions on any level of government have very little to do with politics as the term is used in this report. This is especially true, however, in the federal service where the bulk of the positions listed are buried deep in the official hierarchy. Nearly half of the jobs held, omitting elective offices, were federal jobs of this character.

One would be very blind indeed if he did not recognize the powerful impress on the character of political science as a profession caused by passing so many of its young men and women through the federal service during the late war. A new calling has arisen, that of administration of anything quite regardless of the thing administered. On no other basis can one account for the

young woman teacher who between 1935 and 1944 held jobs successively with N.Y.A., W.P.A., U.S.H.A., O.P.A., O.C.D., and F.P.H.A., or that of the young man who in 1945 was an assistant city manager in a midwestern city and in the course of that year and the next was an administrative analyst with the Bureau of the Budget, a junior relocation officer with the War Relocation Authority, personnel employment technician with the F.P.H.A., and classification analyst with the N.H.A. These devotees of the cult of administration are an earnest and vocal contingent at every meeting of the Political Science Association. That it prepared them to train students for the vocation of administration is possible. That it did anything to prepare them to train students for active participation in politics seems far fetched.

Valuable experience is also to be had from participation in civic groups. There have been found in the returns 40 distinct instances of such participation, omitting such things as membership in luncheon clubs and purely charitable organizations. Of these 22 were cases of membership or leadership in such organizations and 18 were cases of employment in an executive or research capacity. In only 12 instances was participation in such civic groups the only activity recorded. That work through civic groups alone can be the basis for a very broad experience in public affairs is illustrated by the case of a professor at an institution in one of our largest cities who has been practically simultaneously president of the "Citizens League" of his city, member of the executive committee of its Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, member of the executive committee of his state's Public Expenditure Council, a member of the advisory board of his city's Charter Commission and a member of the advisory board of his state's Civil Liberties Committee. This is an outstanding and, it must be admitted, unusual example of extensive nonpartisan political activity.

There have likewise been found 92 instances of political activity in the sense of membership in party committees, attendance at party conventions, participation in campaigns and unsuccessful candidacy for office. A total of 55 teachers in introductory courses shared these experiences. Twenty-seven of these individuals had

no other type of experience in public affairs. This is, of course, a kind of experience which most directly contributes to preparing teachers to prepare others for political participation. Adding in the 22 persons who have been recorded as successful candidates for office, we have 77 teachers in introductory courses who have at least sipped at this fountainhead.

The value and extent of the experience, however, varies a great deal, all the way from the casual and temporary to lifelong preoccupation with party matters. There is no way, however, of determining from the returns to the questionnaire the depth of the experience in each individual case.

Political activity of this kind naturally has been mostly at the local level. There have been found only 2 state committeemen belonging to the regular old-line parties, and only 2 candidates for state office other than members of the legislature and constitutional convention. There were, however, 2 professors who rated posts on a state executive committee of the A.D.A., 8 recorded themselves as having been at least once delegates to state nominating conventions, and 2 had been delegates and 2 alternates at a national convention. One had been made a sergeant-at-arms at one of the 1948 national conventions, doubtless merely as a means of getting him an opportunity to observe the proceedings. Except for 2 successful and 2 unsuccessful congressional candidates and a member of a congressional district committee, all the remaining participants were on the local level.

After weighing all the conflicting considerations one is inclined to the opinion that the political experience of teachers in the introductory courses does not go far towards offsetting the defects in course content and methods previously noted.

COURSES IN POLITICAL PARTIES

It would be an endless task to attempt to analyze all the types of courses offered by American colleges and universities which may contribute to training for participation in politics. The replies to the questionnaire vary a great deal in the number and kinds of courses reported. There was, however, general agreement that

courses in political parties fell within the scope of our study. Sufficient data is available on this phase of the subject to indicate to what extent courses of this nature better the somewhat drab picture presented by the introductory course.

Of the 218 institutions which reported usable data on the introductory course 113 also give a course in political parties. Generally speaking, all the large institutions offer a course in political parties in addition to the treatment given the subject in the general courses on national, state and local government. The process of proliferation, however, has not gone nearly as far in this direction as in that of theory, public administration, and foreign affairs. On the whole, many small and medium-sized colleges do better relatively by the subject of political parties than their big brothers. It is true that recently a number of courses, usually entitled "public opinion and propaganda," have sprung up which border on the field of "political parties." In most instances these courses are given from a public speaking, writing or sociological angle, and while they are tangent to the area of practical politics they do not much overlap it. Such courses usually emphasize the processes of measuring public opinion, and the debacle of the pollsters in 1948 may yet find its reflection in the college catalogues.

Some idea of the time actually devoted to political parties courses can be obtained from the fact that of the 109 courses for which such data was available 80 were given for 3 hours a week for a half year. Only 10 were year courses, half of them for 3 hours and half for 2 hours. Of the remaining courses 7 devoted 5, 2 devoted 4, and 5 devoted 3 hours a quarter, while 4 gave 2 hours a half, and 2 more either 2 or 3 hours optionally per year to this very vital subject.

The number of students taking advantage of the opportunities offered by this group of courses is relatively small. The total enrolment recorded for 105 courses for which such data was available was 3,940. The number of students likely to take a course in political parties in their four years as undergraduates cannot be determined even roughly by multiplying this figure by four. Political parties courses frequently are given only in alternate years.

This practice is very common in the smaller colleges and even in some of the bigger ones. It is not considered safe to use a larger factor than 3, which would mean 11,820 students out of a total institutional enrolment of 391,000 for all reporting colleges and universities. It is a reasonable conclusion therefore that only 3% of our undergraduates get the benefit of a course in political parties. The classes in reporting institutions ranged from 5 to 211 (one of the large state universities) members but very few—only 19 in fact—exceeded 50. These courses are usually given by one instructor without division into sections.

Data as to the use of textbooks in 96 of these courses was available. Unlike the introductory course, the field is about equally divided between three excellent texts: Odegard and Helms, *American Politics*; Key, *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*; and Sait, *American Politics and Elections*.¹ These three books alone or in combination with other works were used in 80 courses out of 92 in which a textbook was used.

The training and experience of the teachers of political parties courses is slightly superior to that in the introductory courses. The percentage of Ph.D.'s is somewhat higher, 53.92 as against 49.26. Of 102 teachers for whom data was furnished, 55 were Ph.D.'s and only 41 M.A.'s, 5 A.B.'s and an LL.B.

As to practical political experience, there has been derived from the returns to the questionnaire the following table:

PUBLIC OFFICES HELD BY TEACHERS IN POLITICAL PARTIES COURSES

	<i>Local Government</i>	<i>State Government</i>	<i>Federal Government</i>	<i>Total</i>
Elective offices	7	5	1	13
Membership on boards, commissions and other unsalaried positions	5	4	1	10
Administrative jobs	1	5	27	33
Consulting positions	2	1	2	5
<i>Total</i>	15	15	31	61

¹ Usually in Penniman's revision.

These 61 positions were held by 39 persons and there was a total of 46 such teachers with some kind of experience in public affairs, including civic activities and participation in political organizations. It is noticeable that the intensity of experience of this group of teachers exceeds considerably that of the 170 teachers in introductory courses, with political experience. The latter shared 334 "participations," or an average of 1.9 participations each. The 46 teachers of political parties courses shared 61 offices, 8 civic participations, and 46 political participations, 115 in all or 2.5 participations per individual.

The percentage of "political parties" teachers with some office-holding, civic organization or political experience was 45% of those recorded in the questionnaire returns, while only 35.6% of introductory course teachers had similar advantages. If one adds this fact to the greater intensity of their experience and the greater maturity represented by the higher percentage of Ph.D.'s, it is clear that the teaching staff of the political parties courses is definitely superior to that in the introductory courses. The reference here is in terms of averages and it is not implied that the situation in particular instances is not completely reversed. Moreover, the small size of most of these courses and the fact that the students are all taking them from choice, not compulsion, should make for better teaching results.

Turning finally to the methods employed in the political parties courses, one finds a much larger proportion of special methods calculated to bring the student into contact with practical politics. Whereas among the 218 introductory courses covered by this study only 32, or 14.7%, reported the use of any methods or procedures other than those used in all similar college subjects, among the 113 political parties courses such methods or procedures were reported by 35 or 30.9%. Too much significance cannot, of course, be attached to this fact. No college teacher would be so immured in an ivory tower as to fail to relate his course in political parties in some manner to such a dramatic exemplification of his subject as a presidential election. This is such an obvious device that many may have failed to mention it

in their returns to the questionnaire. Therefore too much stress cannot be placed on such statements as "We use current campaign and election material," "We analyze the techniques of political parties in the state," "Papers on current political developments required." Nor is one greatly impressed by such broad generalizations as "Political participation is encouraged."

The 14 courses listed hereafter, however, show more or less complete adoption of the "laboratory" method, i.e., a procedure which makes the available governmental units or political organization the "laboratory" in which the student observes at first hand the workings of politics. In one instance, at least, was found the "intern" method, a further elaboration of laboratory procedure, in which students actually get jobs in government offices or political organizations and obtain college credit for their work.

No. 20A. Calls for limited amount of direct contact with political organizations and campaigns in city, state capital, and other nearby cities from which students come.

No. 61. Interviews with political leaders required.

No. 64. Students required to interview leading politicians. In an election year they must report on activities at a polling place.

No. 70. Political activity in the local area is required. This requirement may be satisfied by attending caucuses, visiting the legislature, lobbying or participating in local elections.

No. 85. Every student required to take part in political campaign, work in party headquarters, as checkers at polls, or help run meetings.

No. 88. Students attend political meetings. They also follow some current political activity in the press and news magazines and report on the same. They make campaign speeches in class and analyze party platforms.

No. 93. Effort is made to get students to attend congressional district and state conventions and to seek election as precinct committeemen. Many of them are members of student Republican and Democratic clubs.

No. 117. Students must each make a study of the campaign of a party, a group or an individual seeking major political office.

No. 129. Each student chooses a candidate, studies and analyzes his policies and campaign methods and reports orally thereon to the class.

No. 144. Each student must present evidence of having been active in some principal political party. In addition the student must interview public officials and get firsthand experience in sampling public opinion.

No. 165. Student participation stimulated by intern system under which students get as much as two units of credit for summer work with political party or in some public office. Brief oral reports on such activities by individual students are made to the class.

No. 168. In first semester student is required to participate actively in campaign for candidate of his choice. After elections, which occur yearly, the vote is analyzed. In the second semester each student reports on a political character from each of three periods of U.S. political history.

No. 177. Each student must do active work in a regular political party of his choice. Local political leaders brought into class for discussion.

No. 231. Special methods used to get students to work with political organizations, getting information and giving service.

A somewhat different approach but one which is also in its way an application of the laboratory idea is found in No. 199 where the class is organized into party committees which conduct campaigns of education in campus politics where elections are conducted as near as may be on the model of the state's election laws.

A most interesting experiment is being tried at this writing by No. 126, in the shape of a new course in practical politics inaugurated in the spring semester of 1949. Information concerning this course was received too late to include it in the statistical summaries but its point of view and content are so novel as to warrant including a description here. The instructor is the political director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The course is given in the evening, 2 hours on Tuesdays and 1 hour on Thursdays. It is aimed at giving the student a practical

basis for effective action in his own precinct either through one of the principal political parties or by other organized action. The general nature of the course is apparent from the following extracts from its tentative syllabus.

February 15th. (2 hours). *Introducing the New Politician*

For many years, precinct political power was in the hands of men who boasted of their illiteracy. A college degree was a handicap to a politician. During the last decade, men and women with college training have shown increasing interest in the practical aspects of political power. This session will discuss the reasons for this transformation at the base of American political life.

March 10th. (1 hour). *The Tools of the Political Trade*

This session will consider the concrete techniques that should be mastered by a political club that seeks to operate at top efficiency. Such techniques include canvassing, press releases, outdoor and indoor meetings, radio speeches, films, parades, referral agencies, etc. The object of this session will be to provide a bird's-eye view of the multiple avenues through which a political club must operate to convey its purpose to the public to rally the vote and to guarantee a proper count.

March 22nd. (2 hours). *How to Canvass*. Outside Speaker, Legislative Representative Joint Rent Action Committee

Any good salesman knows the techniques of canvassing must be perfected through study and experience. This hour will be devoted to a discussion of canvassing techniques and their value in the overall campaign.

March 29th. (2 hours). *How to Get Out a Press Release*. Outside Speaker, Partner in Public Relations Firm

Many a good story gets lost between the occurrence and the printing of the newspaper. Usually, the breakdown occurs at the point where the press release is written because the writer lacks certain elementary skills that could easily be attained.

April 12th. (2 hours). *The Election Law*. Outside Speaker, Secretary Republican County Committee

Political parties are legal agencies operating in the framework of established law. No political action is practical without an understanding of the exact features of that law, setting forth the entire structure of a party: committeemen, primaries, petitions, enrolments, and conventions.

April 19th (2 hours). *How to Work at the Polls*. Outside Speaker, Active Democratic Party worker who for many years has been briefing people on how to watch at the polls

An experienced instructor to poll watchers will speak to the group, giving the exact directions given to workers on Election Day. The class will be the imaginary watchers at the polls who will be getting their last minute instructions. The second hour will be devoted to questions and answers on the law relating to the rights of poll watchers, as well as discussions of the techniques for insuring an honest count."

Students are reported to be extremely enthusiastic about this course. It promises to be a very lively affair, and it certainly goes straight at the point of preparing for active participation in politics. Its outside speakers seem fairly well distributed among political groups. It is obvious, however, that such a course could easily be angled in a particular ideological direction and only very strenuous efforts will keep it from falling under the imputation of bias. This difficulty is, of course, present to some degree in all courses of the laboratory type.

No. 98A also makes a unique contribution by offering in addition to its regular course in political parties a course labelled "Field Work in Government" whose purpose is "to help the student break into the main stream of political activity." The course is limited to students who are residents of the state in which the university is located. In 1948-1949 the number enrolled was 28. It carries 3 hours' credit for each of 3 quarters. The instructor has had 2 years' experience as secretary to the mayor of a large city and 7 years in political party and public relations work. For 1948-1949 the course was devoted to "a study of what is involved in the legislative-political process" in the state. The prospectus furnished sets up three projects for each student. The first is to attach himself to the campaign of a candidate for the legislature. He is urged to select one with whose program and personality he is sympathetic. He is told to offer his services to the candidate for campaign work no matter how menial in character, in return for the opportunity to participate and observe. He is required to keep a notebook in which his day-to-day activities are recorded. To help him the prospectus sets up a list of questions which the

entries in the notebook should answer. The students attend 2 lectures a week in a body and are divided for the third hour into 2 sections in which they report orally on what they have learned. They are specifically relieved of the necessity of reporting any confidential information or material that might be detrimental to the candidate.

The second assignment, which took effect immediately after the November election, was to become intimate with a pressure group seeking to influence the action of the 1949 legislature. The third was to follow the course of a bill or bills through the legislature, preferably legislation favored by the pressure group of the earlier assignment, with emphasis on the sources of influence which affected the legislature and the methods used to accomplish the result. Notebook keeping was required for these assignments also, and the material to be looked for was indicated in the prospectus.

This course does not provide, perhaps, as quick and easy a method of getting a student into the "main stream" as the new parties course at No. 126, but is both thorough and practical and involves that actual experience without which the printed or spoken word is often nearly valueless.

It is obvious that much more progress has been achieved toward making political parties courses realistic and practical than has been the case with the introductory courses. The reason is to be found primarily in the specialized subject matter of the course which lends itself to the laboratory method, and the smaller number of students to be handled which makes that method feasible in many more communities.

LABORATORY METHOD IN OTHER COURSES

The laboratory method most obviously is applicable to courses in local government. Many examples of its use can be found in that field, and it is there that the most hopeful outlook for its extension except in connection with political organizations exists. It is also employed to some extent in courses dealing with legislation and administration on the state and federal levels where the

institution is located conveniently for the purpose. The device of internship has also been considerably developed, especially in connection with vocational training, in the various aspects of public administration. A period of internship is required for a degree in several schools of public administration. Internship for political scientists as well as for physicians lengthens the period of preparation and a vocational bait is necessary in most cases to induce students to undergo it. The most conspicuous example of undergraduate and largely nonvocational internship is that carried on by the American University in Washington in collaboration with several other institutions. It is a very useful service but the numbers involved are not sufficient to have any appreciable effect upon the problem of training for political participation. Moreover the use of internship, except at the local level where it can be carried on part-time without undue interference with the student's general career, is not likely in the future to play any considerable part in the preparation of students for participation in politics.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

The replies received to the third section of the questionnaire, labelled "Other Activities," were not such as to lend themselves to exact statistical computation. There was no uniformity in the style or content of the returns. It is possible therefore to set forth here only some very broad conclusions based on a careful consideration of their general nature. As might have been expected, all colleges and universities have some outside speakers in the course of every year. Some institutions have considerable endowments for the purpose and put on regularly scheduled programs in which men and women prominent in public affairs figure, along with scientific, literary and dramatic lights. Other institutions rely on college subsidized or student supported lyceum programs in which African game hunters and Swiss bell ringers claim attention along with some publicists and politicians. Student organizations, including literary, debating and political clubs, frequently are also responsible for inviting speakers to the campus. The most extensive appearance of outside talent, on the whole, is found in

those small and middle-sized colleges which continue to hold weekly or bi-weekly assemblies of all students. They naturally are on the lookout for speakers and local and even national political figures are often willing to accommodate them without a fee. While there were reports of many distinguished and able outside speakers almost no returns showed any systematic use of outside speakers to supplement course instruction in training students for participation in politics. Much more could be done in this direction.

Student organizations in which political issues are discussed are common. They range all the way from the old-fashioned "literary" societies with extraordinary classical names to the Young Men's Republican, Democratic, or Progressive clubs, many of which flourished in the fall of 1948. Political science clubs exist in a fair number of institutions as do a variety of honorary societies with Greek letter titles. Except in a few relatively small institutions, however, the numbers belonging to such student organizations are a very minor fraction of the student body. Much the most frequently found organizations with a direct interest in public affairs are those interested in world politics. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has done a really remarkable job in establishing "International Relations" clubs in the colleges and universities of the entire country. They were generally represented in the returns to the questionnaire as being the most active of student groups with a political angle. It is obvious, however, that they cannot be expected to do much toward training students for active participation in the home brand of politics. The strictly political clubs rarely maintain much momentum in the interim between national elections. They are positively forbidden or discouraged in a sizeable number of institutions.

The questionnaire posed the question of "intercampus conferences on political participation." There were practically no such conferences reported. Many institutions reported sharing in intercampus conferences on international affairs, mostly promoted by the International Relations Clubs. There were a number of instances in which neighboring colleges joined in holding

mock national conventions in the spring of 1948. The only example of systematic intercollegiate cooperation in holding student conferences relating to domestic politics is the "Intercollegiate Conference on Government" of which some 49 colleges in Pennsylvania are members. It was established in 1934 and has held annual meetings ever since. At these annual meetings which take the form of some governmental assembly—state legislature, constitutional convention, national nominating convention—the student delegates, often selected competitively, are given an opportunity to participate actively in the processes used in government. The stimulation of student interest by such meetings is considerable and where adequate preparation for the meeting is required the results can be very helpful in training for participation in politics.

By far the greater number of institutions reported some sort of student self-government. It was impossible to tell from many of the returns how deep this self-government went. Obviously many colleges apply it only to "student affairs"—that is, to student activities and the functioning of student organizations. An organized student body, however, to whom the trustees and faculty entrust some power and with whom they consult on some matters of policy is fairly typical of the institutions responding to the questionnaire. Student elections are often hotly contested even where the student offices are not much more than empty dignities. Our undergraduates generally may be said to get some practice in the art of governing themselves. There is no way of telling whether good campus politicians become good politicians in later life or not.

The answer to Section IV of the questionnaire, on the political activities of graduates, was only supplied by a few of the smaller colleges. It seems that except for a very few alumni associations no one keeps a record of the political achievements of a college's graduates. This is perhaps as important a discovery as could have been compiled from a complete roster of college graduates in public life. It is significant of the low esteem in which training for participation in politics is held by college and university authori-

ties that they do not think a list of their political product important enough to keep in a tickler file for reference.

Practice in public speaking and in the art of conducting meetings in an orderly parliamentary manner is rather plentifully supplied. Debating is a deeply rooted inter-collegiate activity and is encouraged by means of debating societies, activity in which leads possibly to selection for intercollegiate teams. Debating societies foster the knowledge of parliamentary law and prompt use of its techniques to get one's way in an assembly. This, like student self-government, is all in the right direction.

CONCLUSIONS

1. *Improvement of Introductory Course*

A system of higher education which permits more than half its undergraduates to go through college without ever taking any course bearing directly on training for participation in politics is obviously defective. It is not recommended that this situation be met by the extension of compulsory courses involving training for citizenship. Compulsion is not the way of democracy and often produces in American youth a reaction the exact reverse of the one desired. The only answer is to make the "introductory course" more attractive, bearing in mind that for most students it will be the only course of its kind.

This raises the question as to exactly what kind of a course it should be. It is the conclusion of this study that the main theme of the course should be American Government or some aspect of that comprehensive subject. Useful in many ways as the more generalized introductory courses are, they can never be—for the purpose of training students for participation in politics—a substitute for courses dealing concretely with the organization and operation of the government, in running which the student is to participate. If training for participation in politics is the end to be achieved, watering down the portion of a course devoted to that end is plainly not the way to achieve it.

The objective of the course should be effective citizenship

rather than culture though the two need not conflict. It should be aimed at the freshman or sophomore. It should be staffed not necessarily by great scholars but by persons of outstanding teaching ability with a definite interest in training young men and women for participation in politics and capable of inspiring in young people the desire to do so. It is at this stage that the desire to share actively in the operation of our democracy must be inculcated. The staff should be large enough to provide for small sections for discussion and recitation purposes. Where it cannot be recruited from those with political experience, the staff should be encouraged to take part in politics without becoming offensive partisans. In the conduct of the course every practicable device for arousing student interest in political participation and for bringing students into actual contact with public officials and political leaders and organizations should be employed. Finally, the course should be given for not less than 3 hours a week for 2 semesters, or its equivalent.

This emphasis on a beginner's course of the type described would in many instances mean increased expense and require readjustment of the political science curriculum. It would appear, however, that the proliferation of courses in political science has gone so far in many institutions as to invite readjustments. No radical alteration of political science curricula is being suggested but merely a reconsideration of emphasis in view of the crying demands of democracy.

II. Increased Emphasis on Courses on Political Parties

While everything should be done that can be done to improve the quality and increase the drawing power of the beginning course directed at producing effective citizenship, there are serious obstacles to complete success of which sight must not be lost. These obstacles center on the great size of such courses which would be further increased if the improvements just suggested were carried out. It is difficult to find teachers of the desired quality in the desired numbers for a course aimed at reaching all freshmen or sophomores in large institutions. Without a superior staff the lab-

oratory method is full of pitfalls. Moreover the difficulty of using the laboratory method increases in direct proportion to the number of students to be served. It has never anywhere been used successfully for a class of much over 500 and is wholly impossible for large schools in small towns. There is a point beyond which mass training of all students for participation in politics cannot go.

This limitation on what can be done with the introductory course suggests the importance of encouraging the greatest possible development of courses in political parties in which much progress in the use of laboratory methods has already been made. Since it is impossible to train all students adequately for participation in politics it is all the more important to train the few who are best qualified to be leaders in political life.

Sir Henry Sumner Maine pointed out many years ago that the demos cannot make up its mind as does an individual but can only say "yes" or "no" to suggestions that are made to it. Hence the vital role of leadership in a democracy. Mazzini described the ideal democracy as "government of all by all under the leadership of the best and wisest." The best and wisest may not always be found among those who have taken a political parties course in college, but there is no better place to look for material for future political leadership. More of it can be found probably among those students with enough interest to take a course in it than on the football field or in the artificial atmosphere of campus politics. Such courses could be made more attractive still to leadership material if the program we suggest is carried out. It is not suggested that an attempt should be made to increase enrolment in the political parties courses except by introducing such courses where they are not now given. The attraction which would be given to the course should be offset, wherever necessary, by strict limitation of its numbers. The teacher should, wherever possible, be a person with political experience, and continued interest in politics—not necessarily in office-holding—should be expected of him. The laboratory method should be used in one or more of its variations to get the student as effectively as possible into the "main stream" of political life. It is a minor question whether the student should be sent to the politicians or the politicians brought

to the students. Latitude must be allowed for the temperament and personal preferences of the teacher. If the level of teacher qualifications and method found in the most successful courses in political parties could be introduced into all such courses a crop of students trained for political participation and interested in having it would be coming out of our colleges and universities every June.

III. *The Part of the Citizenship Clearing House*

If all teachers concerned with courses in which training for participation in politics is a factor were themselves adepts in politics, capable of arranging the contacts between their students and the politicians, there would be little for The Citizenship Clearing House to do. But such is not the case either in the introductory or political parties courses. Nor can the improvement in this particular be expected to be anything but slow. It will not be enough to urge upon the authorities of our colleges and universities their obligation to improve introductory and political parties courses along the lines suggested. Something must be done to get better results from the teachers and the politicians as they are today. It is necessary to do two things for the teachers:

1. Bring them in touch with successful methods used by other teachers.
2. Establish contacts between the teachers and the politicians whose area of operations must be the laboratory for student experience.

These objectives could be accomplished in part by means of a bulletin in which articles describing successful methods could be published along with other material of interest. Something of the kind will be necessary if all teachers, including those in the introductory courses, are to be reached quickly. Another essential procedure is a series of conferences on a regional basis in which teachers and politicians are brought together. Such conferences, to be worthwhile, must be small and last long enough for the participants to get thoroughly acquainted. For this reason it is suggested that they be used in the beginning at least only for the promotion

of the program of improvement in political parties courses. The number of teachers in such courses is not too great to permit the field to be covered in a reasonable number of conferences. Such concentration at the point of least resistance can accomplish results which would create prestige of great value in attacking the more difficult points in the program. This is not to suggest student participation in these conferences though present or former students may be used as exhibits or witnesses. The first step is to get teachers and politicians together to discuss ways and means of making laboratory procedures effective in the political parties courses.

Finally, the Clearing House needs to continue the work well begun at the Waldorf-Astoria conference, of creating an academic climate favorable to training for participation in politics. Frankly, such training is now a stepchild on most college campuses. Few college teachers have the nerve under existing circumstances to go deeply into it. They do not care to risk criticism by trying new methods. Before great progress can be made in improving either the introductory or political parties courses the sympathetic approval of college and university authorities must be assured.

International Relations

Introduction to Contemporary World Politics	Introduction to International Govt. & Politics
International Organization	—
Foreign Policies of the Powers	—
Conduct of Amer. Foreign Relations	—
Power Politics in International Relations	Propaganda & World Politics
—	United Nations
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	—
—	Pacific World*
International Law & the Organization of Security	—

Political Theory

—	Theory & Practice of Govt.
—	—
History of Political Theory	History of Political Thought*
—	—
—	—
Modern Political Thought	Contemporary Political Thought
Development of Amer. Policy	Amer. Political Theory
—	—
—	—
—	—
Elements of Law	Principles of Social Politics
—	Elements of Public Law
	Law—Ways of Primitive Man

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF COURSES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN SIX LARGE UNIVERSITIES

83A

108

116

135

148

229

Courses in American Government

General

Nat'l. Govt. of U.S.	Introduction to Amer. Nat'l. Govt.	Present Day Govt. in U.S.	Govt. in Amer. Society	Amer. Govt. & Politics	Amer. Political Institutions
—	Amer. Nat'l. Govt.	—	—	Amer. Political Institutions	Govt. in Action
State Government	Studies in Amer. Govt.	State & Local Govt.	Governmental Problems in the Amer. State	State & Local Govt.	The Amer. Democracy
Problems in State & Local Govt.	Introduction to Amer. State Govt.	State & Local Administration	—	Legislation	State & Local Govt. & Administration
—	—	Congress & the Making of Public Policy	The Amer. Legislature*	—	—
—	—	—	The Amer. Presidency	—	—
—	—	—	The Amer. Judicial System	—	—
Municipal Govt.	Municipal Govt.*	—	Municipal Administration	Municipal Govt.	Problems in Municipal Govt. & Administration
Topics in Local Govt.	Comparative Studies in Amer. Municipal Administration *	—	—	Municipal Administration	—
Amer. Constitutional Development	Constitution of the U.S.*	Supreme Court & Constitutional Law	Amer. Constitutional System	Amer. Constitutional Law	Amer. Constitutional System
Problems in Amer. Federalism	Origins of the U.S. Constitution*	—	—	—	Introduction to Constitutional Law
—	U.S. Constitutional Law*	—	—	—	—

Public Administration

Public Administration	Public Administration	Introduction to Public Administration	Principles of Public Administration	The Administrative Process	Introduction to Public Administration
Public Administration: The Civil Service & Control	Public Personnel Administration	—	Personnel Administration in the Public Service	—	Administrative Management
Social Security Problems*	—	—	Principles of Public Planning	—	—
—	—	—	Housing in the Community*	—	—
Govt. Regulation of Industry	—	Govt. & Business	Govt. as Enterpriser & Regulator	Public Regulation	Govt. & the Amer. Economy
Govt. & the Conservation of Natural Resources	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	Law & Politics of Administration	—	Administrative Law	Introduction to Administrative Law
Political Parties & Elections	Amer. Party Politics*	Amer. Parties & Politics	Political Parties	Political Parties	Political Parties & Elections
—	—	—	Public Opinion & Propaganda	—	Govt. & Interest Groups
—	—	—	Pressure Politics	—	—
—	—	—	Public Relations	—	—

Comparative Government

Comparative Govt.: Representative Institutions	Comparative Govt.	—	—	Comparative Govt.	Comparative Political Institutions
Modern Govt.	—	—	—	Modern Constitutional Govt.	Comparative Federal Systems
Parliamentary Govt.	—	—	Parliamentary Democracies*	—	Comparative Administrative Systems
—	—	—	—	—	Evolution of Western Political Institutions
—	—	European Govt. & Politics	European Govt. & Politics	Major European Govts.	Europe Since 1914
British Commonwealth of Nations	—	—	British Commonwealth of Nations*	British Commonwealth	Modern British Govt.
Far Eastern Govt. & Politics	—	Contemporary Far Eastern Govts. & Politics	—	Political Institutions of the Far East*	Comparative Govts. of the Far East
—	—	—	—	Survey of Far Eastern Politics	Chinese Govt.
—	—	—	—	Contemporary Problems in Far Eastern Politics	Japanese Govt.
—	—	—	—	—	—
Dictatorship & the Govt. & Politics of the Soviet Union	—	Soviet Russia & Eastern Europe	—	—	Japanese Colonial Administration
—	—	—	Govt. & Politics of Latin America	Latin American Political Institutions	Authoritarian State
—	—	—	—	Spanish American Constitutionalism	—
Propaganda & Control of Communications Channels*	—	—	—	—	—

*Not offered in 1943-49

(Continued on reverse side)

Elements of International Relations

International Organization

Governmental Problems in International Relations

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Latin America in World Affairs

—
—
—

International Relations of the Far East*

—

International Law

Principles of Govt.

—

Political Thought 17th Century

Modern Political Theory

—

Recent Political Theory

Amer. Pol. Theory

—
—

Politics & Economics

Sociopolitics & Capitalism*

—
—

International Relations

International Govt. & Administration
The Foreign Service

Amer. Foreign Policy

—

National Power in International
Politics

Contemporary International Relations
in Europe

International Relations of Western
Hemisphere

Balkans in Politics & Diplomacy

International Relations in Middle &
Near East

International Relations in the
Far East

Amer. Foreign Policy in Far East
International Law

Survey of Political Science

—

Analytical Political Theory

Western Tradition of Political Thought

—

Contemporary Political Thought

Amer. Political Thought

Oriental Political Thought

—

Power & the State

—

Introduction to Public Law

Introduction to Roman Law

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF COURSES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN SIX LARGE UNIVERSITIES (Continued)

83A

108

116

135

148

229

International Relations

International Politics	World Politics	Introduction to Contemporary World Politics	Introduction to International Govt. & Politics	Elements of International Relations	International Relations
International Organization	International Organization	International Organization	—	International Organization	International Govt. & Administration
Conduct & Control of Foreign Policy	Contemporary Problems of International Relations	Foreign Policies of the Powers	—	Governmental Problems in International Relations	The Foreign Service
The U.S. in World Politics	Conduct of Amer. Foreign Relations*	Conduct of Amer. Foreign Relations	—	—	Amer. Foreign Policy
Modern Imperialism*	Modern Imperialism*	Power Politics in International Relations	Propaganda & World Politics	—	—
Nationalism in International Relations	Problems of War	—	United Nations	—	National Power in International Politics
Europe in World Politics	—	—	—	Latin America in World Affairs	Contemporary International Relations in Europe
—	—	—	—	—	International Relations of Western Hemisphere
—	—	—	—	—	Balkans in Politics & Diplomacy
Russia & Asia in World Politics	—	—	—	—	International Relations in Middle & Near East
—	—	—	—	International Relations of the Far East*	International Relations in the Far East
—	—	—	Pacific World*	—	Amer. Foreign Policy in Far East
International Law	International Law	International Law & the Organization of Security	—	International Law	International Law

Political Theory

Principles of Popular Govt.	Fundamentals of Govt.	—	Theory & Practice of Govt.	Principles of Govt.	Survey of Political Science
Development of the Concepts of Constitutional Government	Fundamentals of Amer. Govt.	—	—	—	—
History of Political Thought to Close of Middle Ages	History of Political Thought	History of Political Theory	History of Political Thought*	Political Thought 17th Century	Analytical Political Theory
History of Political Thought from Renaissance	Christian Principles of Govt.*	—	—	Modern Political Theory	Western Tradition of Political Thought
—	Masters of Political Thought	—	—	—	—
—	Recent Political Thought	Modern Political Thought	Contemporary Political Thought	Recent Political Theory	Contemporary Political Thought
Amer. Political Thought*	Amer. Political Thought*	Development of Amer. Policy	Amer. Political Theory	Amer. Pol. Theory	Amer. Political Thought
—	Christian Political Thought	—	—	—	Oriental Political Thought
—	Modern Democratic State*	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	Politics & Economics	Power & the State
—	—	—	Principles of Social Politics	Sociopolitics & Capitalism*	—
—	—	Elements of Law	Elements of Public Law	—	Introduction to Public Law
—	—	—	Law—Ways of Primitive Man	—	Introduction to Roman Law

*Not offered in 1948-49

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF COURSES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN SIX SMALL COLLEGES

39

42

54

70

95

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Courses in American Government

General

—	Responsible Citizenship	Citizenship Training	Amer. Govt. & Politics	Survey of Social Sciences	—
Amer. National Govt.	Amer. Govt. & Politics	Amer. Constitutional Govt.	The Amer. Constitution	U.S. Govt.	National Govt. in the U.S.
Amer. State Govt.	—	Contemporary Problems & Current Events	—	—	State Govt. in the U.S.
Introduction to Constitutional Law	Amer. Constitution	Constitutional History of the U.S.	—	Amer. Constitutional History	Constitutional Law
Municipal Govt.	—	—	—	—	Municipal Govt.
—	Public Administration	Public Administration	—	—	—
—	Public Finance & Taxation	—	—	—	—
—	Govt. & Business	—	—	—	—
Political Parties	Amer. Political Parties	History of Amer. Political Parties	Amer. Political Parties & Problems	—	History of Amer. Political Parties
—	—	American Party Politics	—	—	—

Public Administration

Political Parties & Elections

Comparative Government

Comparative Government	Contemporary Foreign Govts.	Contemporary European Govts.	Foreign Govts.	Comparative Govt.	Comparative Govt.
—	—	Govt. of England & British Empire	—	English Constitutional History	British Govt. & Politics
—	—	Far East	—	—	—

International Relations

Amer. Foreign Relations	History Amer. Foreign Policy	Amer. Foreign Relations	International Relations	Amer. Foreign Relations	Amer. Diplomacy
Political Geography	Contemporary Amer. Foreign Policy	—	—	Contemporary World Affairs	—
International Relations	International Relations & Trade	—	—	International Organization	Principles of International Law
International Law	International Law	—	—	—	—

Political Theory

History of Political Ideas	Evolution of Political Theory	Political Thought	Modern Political Theory	Readings in Political & Social Thought	History of Political Thought
—	Problems of Democracy	—	Principles of Govt.	—	—

No. of Courses 11

14

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9

10

No. of Instructors 1

3

5*

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*Three of them shared with other departments

CONFERENCE SUGGESTIONS

Over the past year and a half, the Citizenship Clearing House has conducted a series of regional conferences designed to bring into focus some of the practical problems involved in student education for citizenship at the college level. These conferences while not nationwide were representative of the institutions of higher learning in the areas covered.

To the first of these conferences held at the Westchester Country Club in New York in October of 1948 members of the political science departments of more than fifty colleges and universities in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut were invited. The second of the conferences, held at the Sheraton Hotel in Boston in November of 1949, was attended by representatives of colleges and universities in the New England states. Political scientists from the colleges and universities of New Jersey met at a meeting in December at the Princeton Inn, Princeton, New Jersey. The colleges of Ohio held a similar meeting at the Seneca Hotel in Columbus later in the month.

At each of these sessions, in addition to the political scientists, there were selected to be present a number of college presidents and administrators, men engaged in active political life, representatives of labor, of management, of non-partisan political organizations and of the press. Simplicity was sought in the structure of the conferences so that the maximum time could be devoted to consideration of two problems—first, what is presently being done in the colleges to train and encourage young people upon graduation to participate in the affairs of their government, particularly at the local level; second, what can or should be done in order to accomplish this objective more effectively.

The principal work of the conferences was done in round table discussions. The recommendations and suggestions of the round table committees were embodied in reports submitted to the conference as a whole at the conclusion of the committee deliberations. The findings of these conference groups are significant both for the uniformity they report in the methods and

devices currently being used and the wide variety of suggestions and comments on what should be done to bring about more effective citizenship training. What *is being done* is the subject of the exhaustive report by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed. The suggestions of what *should be done* by the colleges as reported by the conference groups is embodied here in condensed form in the hope that it will stimulate thought on methods for accomplishing the desired goal of increased active participation in practical politics in the public interest.

1. *Faculty participation in the political scene.* Associations like the American Bar Association, the American Political Science Association and other national professional organizations might assist in overcoming the resistance in certain educational institutions to the introduction of practical courses in politics. Specifically, they could render great services by encouraging college trustees and presidents to permit political clubs on their campuses and by urging that professors be allowed to participate actively in the political scene as analysts or better yet as practitioners and that guest lecturers including practical politicians be permitted to partake in and enrich the courses in politics.

2. *Recognition of faculty practical participation as part of the realistic teaching process.* College authorities should give greater recognition in evaluating the performances of college professors to their realistic teaching in the political process, and appropriate credit should be given for the professor's participation in politics as an analyst, a researcher, or a practitioner.

3. *Practical experience a prerequisite for graduate degree in political science.* Universities should consider requiring a year of governmental experience, either administrative or in the political arena, as one of the prerequisites for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in political science.

4. *Political science department must become a service department.* Political science departments might become more "service departments" and not teaching departments alone. A few universities have, in conjunction with student-operated radio stations, developed a weekly program of political and govern-

mental character. These programs have been extended to include public debates and interrogation of local political figures on subjects of timely interest.

5. *Development of "motivating" courses.* Present survey courses in political science or current events may be more effectively used to encourage student interest in politics. Interest might be stimulated by giving more attention to current political happenings through requiring students to follow in the press and periodicals developments of the day.

6. *Teaching inter-relation of political science courses.* In the teaching of international relations courses recognition should be given to the impact of domestic problems and politics on foreign affairs and the effect of developments in the foreign field on internal politics.

7. *Establishment of field work courses.* Colleges might well establish field courses in politics and give academic credit for such courses. It has been reported by some universities that students in certain courses are required to prepare reports based on interviews of government officials, inspection of governmental operations, and participation in some specific civic enterprise. All students in these universities have at least one such assignment in their first year course in public affairs, and more extensive use of this method is made in later courses in government and public administration. In some courses extracurricula research in civic training is required in which students are assigned projects that lead them directly into community life and develop their sense of participation as well as their sense of understanding.

Akin to this is the program of annually sending a limited number of students to the national or state capital, under the supervision of a political science faculty member, where they observe their government at work. This might also involve active intern experience in the administrative and legislative branches.

8. *Familiarize students with political organization.* Model political party conventions, model assemblies and senates, model city councils, and the like might be used to stimulate student interest in politics and to discover students with political apti-

tude. At one university, the class in International Problems is organized as a model Security Council; that in International Law simulates an international tribunal; and that in Problems of Public Administration simulates an administrative staff meeting.

9. *Emphasize idealism in politics.* Political science should be taught more in terms of the fundamental personal problem known politically as the need of making minor compromises without the sacrifice of principles.

10. *Re-examination of teaching materials and techniques.* It is believed by some that a serious barrier to effectiveness in teaching arises from the presently existing textbooks that fail to make the student feel as though he is living the situation and that he is actually preparing himself with information useful to him in life after he has left college. It is recommended that a leaf might be taken here from the experience of the law schools which have used case and problem materials to such great advantage. In this way, students develop not only experience in solving problems, but skill in creative discussion and group activity.

11. *Locating the gifted student.* Professors might make use of the existing student organizations on their campuses to discover "gifted students" and also to use these organizations as a testing ground. The National Student Association, representing about 230 colleges throughout the country, could probably be of great help in reaching the students who are not in the political science courses. Although this association's policy has been to stay clear of partisan politics, their help might be enlisted, through their publications, to publicize the efforts of a program to encourage active political participation of young college graduates.

12. *Development of the power of expression.* A serious drawback to the active participation in public affairs has been found to exist in the concern of young men and women unable to express themselves and their ideas satisfactorily. The reasons for this spring not alone from lack of experience in public speaking and in preparing well organized briefs, but also from the deficiency of many students in the proper use of grammar from a too sparse vocabulary. Greater opportunity must be given to the students

to prepare and deliver speeches to accustom themselves to intelligent speaking while on their feet, to presiding over meetings, to organizing and conducting meetings, and the like.

13. *Development of a system of awards.* Colleges and universities should consider recognizing by appropriate awards alumni and students who have done the most for their communities through their political participation.

14. *Employment of facilities of non-partisan civic organizations.* The great good wrought by organizations like The League of Women Voters, The Massachusetts Civic League and The Citizens Union of New York City might well be employed to encourage participation of students who are uncertain of their political preference as a testing ground while they determine the party of their choice. Publications available through these organizations might well be integrated in course study and students benefit tremendously from volunteering their services to assist in the preparation of reports on questions of timely interest for the use of the organization.

15. *Development of student political clubs.* Despite the genuine concern felt by some institutions on this subject, can there be said to be anything but benefit in student political clubs providing they are open and above board? The student forum should actually be the scene of responsible political discussion. Obviously, the step from such participation to wider participation in the party itself is a shorter step, than from the classroom itself to the party in the area of the student's home.

16. *Select stimulating guest speakers.* The public figure invited to address a class or chapel assembly frequently is chosen for his name or position with little reference to his ability to present his topic with clarity and terseness. The effect of such a choice is to lull rather than develop student interest in the subject matter of his talk.

17. *Reduction of the voting age.* Students fail to interest themselves in public affairs in a serious way because of a feeling that they are not politically of age until they are permitted to vote. The reduction of the voting age limit to 18 years would do much

to foster a greater feeling or responsibility for public affairs and political maturity.

18. *Organized support of a program of political participation.* Nationally organized groups, particularly the press, should be urged to help create a more favorable national, regional and local climate for political participation by young men and women.

Obviously these recommendations and suggestions are not all inclusive. They do not even represent a substantial start on the unending list of independent thoughts that it is hoped they will encourage. The preliminary task of the Citizenship Clearing House has been directed primarily toward bringing into the open for all to evaluate experiences which have been tried on a limited scale and that have proven effective.

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